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"The Enslavement of Belgians"

A PROTEST

Never land long lease of empire won
Whose sons sate silent when base deeds were done.
—Lowell.

MASS MEETING
CARNEGIE HALL, N. Y.
FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15, 1916

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The meeting was held in response to the following advertisement in the daily press:

A Mass Meeting

WILL BE HELD IN

CARNEGIE HALL

On Friday Evening, December 15th

AT 8.30 O'CLOCK

To Protest Against the Crimes of the Imperial German Government in Its Treatment of the Belgian People

THE PROGRAMME FOR THE MEETING IS:

1. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER
2. ADDRESS by the CHAIRMAN The Rev. Dr. W. T. Manning
3. ADDRESS James M. Beck
4. THE BELGIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM "The Brabançonne"
5. ADDRESS Alton B. Parker
6. ADDRESS Elihu Root
7. RESOLUTIONS
8. AMERICA

The Last Cable from the Belgian Government Reads as follows:

"This slavery is being carried out in the utmost barbarity and brutality and several thousand of the more reluctant have been put in prison on starvation rations in order to induce them to sign 'free' contracts."

Admission by tickets which can be procured at Putnam's bookstore, from Joseph Bucklin Bishop, 59 Wall Street, and at the Hall. The meeting will commence at 8.30. Doors will be opened at 7 o'clock.

ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN

Rev. William T. Manning, D. D., Rector, Trinity Church, New York, Chairman.

The Chairman: This meeting has been called to express openly and publicly the indignation and abhorrence which, we feel as American citizens, against deeds committed in Belgium, France and Poland (applause), such as were supposed to have become extinct among civilized peoples (applause), and have not been known in the world since the beginning of the Christian era. (Applause.)

A similar meeting has already been held in Boston, and we hope that others will be held in every City, great and small, throughout the land. (Great applause.)

That martyred nation which, more than any other, has sacrificed itself for the sake of law and right and honor (applause), is appealing, in its dire distress, to all the world and to the neutral nations in particular. This meeting is in answer to that appeal. (Applause.) We wish to express our unmeasured sympathy with the wronged and outraged people of Belgium. (Applause.)

We have not come here to speak the language of hate. We do not condemn indiscriminately the whole German people. We know that they have been misinformed, misled and cruelly betrayed by those in whom they have too blindly trusted. We believe that there are many Germans who condemn these infamous acts as strongly as any of us do. (Applause.) We hope yet to see them free themselves from the curse of Prussian Militarism (great applause) and from the power of autocratic and unscrupulous leaders who have robbed Germany of her high place among the nations, and led her into crimes which have shocked and dismayed the world. But we are here to say that as American citizens, and as true men and women, we denounce, and abhor, and utterly condemn such acts as the

invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania,* still unatoned and unapologized for, and now this climax of atrocity, this dragging into wholesale slavery of men who are defenceless and unoffending non-combatants. (Great applause.)

Only recently we learned that thousands of young women in Northern France had been torn from their homes, and from their despairing friends, and taken no man knew whither. The situation of those helpless girls, in a foreign land filled with hostile soldiery is indeed terrible to think of.

Now, in defiance of all law, human and divine, the brave people of a conquered country are seized by the hundreds of thousands, packed like beasts into cattle cars and carried away to be the slaves of their captors.

We know the excuse that is offered for this unspeakable crime. We are told that this is done in order to provide for the unemployed and that it is "a humanitarian measure." We fling back that monstrous excuse into the teeth of those who make it. (Great applause.) It is an insult to our intelligence, a lie on its face, and a mockery of those who are being tortured and oppressed. (Applause.)

In violation of her most solemn and binding word, Germany has invaded the country of these people, desolated their homes, robbed them of their machinery, their tools, their means of subsistence, and now when they ought at least to be her charges and her wards she not only refuses to provide for them but drags them into exile to be her slaves. God save us and the world from such "humanitarian measures" as these! (Great applause.)

That which is forced on these people is in fact worse than slavery. It is slavery plus treason to their own kindred, their own honour and their own land. They are compelled to give their aid towards the destruction of their own people.

Shall we as a nation sit silent, or utter ourselves only in words of formal disapproval, against wrong like this?

(Cries of "No, no!")

In the light of these things are we prepared to say, as a people, that the causes, merits and ultimate issue of this war are no concern of ours?

(Cries of "No, no! Wilson!")

Is there anyone in this land calling himself an American who is so unmoral, so unchristian, so shamefully neutral between good and evil that he is not concerned about these things?

(Cries of "Wilson, Wilson!" and great applause.)

The man who, knowing the undisputed facts, is neutral, or unmoved, with regard to Belgium, has suffered some insidious weakening both of his moral sense and of his manhood. (Great applause.)

We have been slow to believe that such things could be in this age. We were not affected in the beginning by any prejudice against Germany,—quite the reverse. But we have been compelled to see that everything that we hold sacred is involved in this conflict. (Applause.) We have been compelled to see that the real issues at stake are Democracy, Civilization and every truth for which Christianity stands! (Applause.) A world dominated by the ideas for which the German Government has stood during this war would be a world unfit to live in. It would be a world of brute force, of broken obligations, of ruthless aggression, of might utterly disregarding right. (Applause.)

If these standards are to be in control we shall be living in a world in which the Ten Commandments have been repealed and the Christian religion has been repudiated. Judged by its fruits, we now see that the doctrine of the will to power is the most damnable and inhuman doctrine ever promulgated on this earth. (Applause.) Does someone ask the cynical question "What good will it do for us to speak?" The question itself betrays a lack of the American spirit. What good will it do for us to speak out, regardless of consequences, against colossal injustice and unparalleled wrong? The voice of every patriot and prophet, of every martyr and confessor, of every founder of this Republic, brands that question as a false and shameful one. (Applause.)

I point you to one who has shown us what good it will do, who has shown us the sublime power of moral witness, who at the risk of his own life and liberty has lifted up a voice that has been heard in every land, and that has made his oppressors tremble, the great Cardinal Mercier (Great and continued applause, whole audience rising), whose name is an honour to

Belgium, an honour to the Roman Catholic Church, an honour to Christianity throughout the world, and an honour to mankind. (Applause.)

We send our greeting tonight from this hall to the great Cardinal, and not less to the other of the two most noble and heroic figures revealed by this war, Albert, King of the Belgians. (Great and long continued applause, whole audience standing.)

We are asked to speak out for the sake of Belgium. I say that it is time for us to speak out for the sake of our own honour, our own land, and our own souls! (Applause.)

And may the woes of Belgium, a land consecrated to peace and desiring only this, rouse us to realize the inconceivable folly, the wicked and criminal negligence of our present lack of any adequate provision for the defence of our shores and the protection of our homes. (Applause.)

Our President has said recently, in words which we all endorse: "So far as America is concerned and her influence is involved, justice and liberty should be extended to mankind everywhere."

(A Voice: "Why doesn't he do something?")

Let us act in accordance with the words. Now is the time, if ever, for us to use our influence for justice and liberty.

Our Government has entered a protest against these deeds in Belgium.

(A Voice: "Very mild protest, very official.")

We have said officially that they are "in contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants in conquered territory". But our message does not seem to have had much effect. The answer to it is a heartless and paltering evasion. (Applause.) And day by day these merciless outrages upon men and women are going on.

Let the American people speak now in words which no one can mistake or misunderstand. (Applause.) Let us declare here tonight that we Americans are not so sodden with wealth, so fallen from our ideals, that we have ceased to care for things like these. Let our people all up and down this land call upon our Government to speak now, not in words mild and respect-

ful, for such deeds deserve no respect, but with a stern indignation, and a voice of moral condemnation which shall be heard through all the world. (Great applause.)

We owe it not only to Belgium and to ourselves, we owe it to Germany to tell her to her face, and unhesitatingly, how these misdeeds appear to us, and to the judgment of mankind. (Applause.) It may be that our voice fearlessly lifted up will help to bring her to herself and to make her see the enormity of these things.

Months ago our Government was forced to say officially to Germany that unless she abandoned her methods of submarine warfare "the Government of the United States would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether." Can our country, the land of justice and liberty, honourably continue in friendly diplomatic relations with a Government whose hands are red with deeds like these in Belgium? (Continued cries of "No, no!")

We denounce this hideous wrong as brutal, unlawful, uncivilized and unworthy of the men of any people! (Great applause.)

We call upon our Government to take a position in this matter which shall give to America her greatest and most priceless privilege, the privilege of moral leadership among the nations. (Applause.)

We call upon our President to speak, and we pledge to the President the unqualified support of all right thinking people of every party, creed, and race, if he will now demand in the name of America, in the name of Humanity, and in the Name of God, that these unheard of outrages against the brave people of Belgium shall immediately cease, and that those who have already been carried into slavery shall be set free, and allowed at least the poor comfort of returning to their broken families and to their devastated homes. (Great applause.)

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear some letters and telegrams which have been sent expressing sympathy with the aims and purposes of this meeting. These will be read to us by one whom we are especially glad to have on this platform because of the honor in which he is held everywhere, because he has again and again spoken out like a man upon these questions, and because he conspicuously represents the sentiment and the feeling of the Southern people of our country,—Bishop Gailor of Tennessee! (Applause.)

BISHOP GAILOR: I was not asked to make an address, but I consider it a most high honor to be permitted to read these letters and telegrams, to testify by my presence on this occasion my sympathy with this movement and to say, as I have been asked to say, just one or two words as a preface to what I have to read.

The enlightened conscience of Europe in the thirteenth century, six hundred years ago, expressing itself in the poetry of Dante, put the cruel and the murderers into the seventh circle of the Inferno, but the cruel and murderers who had also broken their plighted word it put into the pit of Hell. (Applause.)

The fundamental difference between the naked savage and the man we call civilized is that the civilized man has respect for law, and the supreme law of human civilization is the obligation of humaneness, sympathy and compassion.

We are assembled, therefore, tonight to appeal to Almighty God, who is not the God of any nation, or of any race, but the God of the spirits of all flesh, Who hath made of one blood all nations of men who dwell on the face of the whole earth, and to appeal to all men and all women in all lands who respect this supreme law of human civilization to protest in the name of religion, in the name of liberty, of justice, of humanity,

against the tragic, the horrible, the unexampled cruelties inflicted upon the Belgian people. (Applause.)

(Bishop Gailor then read the following letters and telegrams):

From Theodore Roosevelt

"Sagamore Hill, Dec. 5th, 1916.

Dear Mr. Whitridge:

I earnestly wish you all success in your meeting; and all Americans who are proud of the good name of their country and also have in them the capacity for general indignation on behalf of a foully wronged people, must join in hearty thanks to you and your associates.

Germany's campaign of methodically organized atrocities against the unhappy Belgian people has culminated in the transplanting of over a hundred thousand Belgian men into a condition of state-slavery in Germany where their labor is to be used to aid in the conquest of their fellow-countrymen. Similar transplantings of civilian non-combatants, both men and women, into slavery in Germany have already occurred in Northern France.

This action is paralleled by the action of the Assyrian conquerors of Syria and Palestine; but until the present war broke out it was supposed that such hideous infamies were effectively checked by the system of international law which has grown up under modern Christian civilization. But Germany has trampled under foot every device of international law for securing the protection of the weak and the unoffending. She has shown an utter disregard of all considerations of pity, mercy, humanity and international morality. She has counted upon the terror inspired by her ruthless brutality to protect her from retaliation or interference.

The outrages committed on our own people have been such as the United States has never before been forced to endure, and have included the repeated killing of our men, women and children. The sinking of the *Marina* and the *Cheming* the other day, with the attendant murder of six Americans, was but the most recent in an unbroken chain of injuries and insults, which by comparison make mere wrong to our property interests

[illegible] into absolute insignificance.

As long as neutrals keep silent, or speak apologetically, or [illegible] refuge in the futilities of the professional pacificists, there [illegible] be no cessation in these brutalities. But surely this last [illegible] crowning brutality, which amounts to the imposition of a

cruel form of state-slavery on a helpless and unoffending conquered nation, must make our people realize that they peril their own souls, that they degrade their own manhood, if they do not bear emphatic testimony against the perpetration of such iniquity.

I am glad to be one among the Americans who thus bear testimony.

Yours very truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

(Great applause.)

From Joseph H. Choate

"8 EAST SIXTY-THIRD STREET,
12 December, 1916.

MY DEAR DR. MANNING:

I am very sorry that I am unavoidably prevented from taking an active part in the meeting on Friday night, to protest against one of the most cruel and barbarous atrocities known to history, and to support the great effort which our President has been making to put a stop to it, in which he is entitled to the assistance of all the citizens of the United States of all parties.

The Secretary of State states that the United States Government has exhausted its means of diplomacy, and, therefore, lays the case before American public opinion, from which it will expect to draw guidance for the next steps, if any be taken. I do not agree to that view, although I accept it for the time being in deference to the high authority of the President. I do not believe that we are bound to continue diplomatic relations with a nation that shall persist in such brutal outrages, against the universal protest of the neutral world. (Great applause.)

Chancellor von Bethman-Hollweg told Secretary Grew that the deportations are regarded as justified "on the grounds of social necessity."

(Cry of "It's a lie!")

But the same Chancellor declared to the world on the Fourth of August, 1914, that the invasion of Belgium was justified on the same plea of necessity, although he admitted that it was all wrong and was in violation of international law and would be fully paid for, as it will be by and by. (Great applause.)

I have read that the Vice-Chancellor of Germany said the other day that these deportations were in entire accordance with international law, and were authorized by the Convention

with respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land, adopted by the first Hague Conference in 1899, which was adopted by all the belligerent nations, and particularly by the Forty-third Article of the Convention. But this is a still more frivolous and unfounded plea, which, I am not surprised to see, the Chancellor himself in his conversation with Secretary Grew took no notice of and did not adopt.

Article Forty-three says nothing on the subject, but simply requires the occupant of territory under military authority 'to take all steps in his power to re-establish and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety'. Surely, that does not require him to tear the inhabitants of that territory by force from their homes and their families, to exile them to a foreign country, and there reduce them to slavery and compel them to take the places of laborers who will recruit his own hostile army. And the next Article, Forty-four, expressly declares that 'Any compulsion of the population of occupied territory to take part in military operations against its own country is prohibited.'

But the Vice-Chancellor has forgotten the whole spirit of the Conference of 1899, which declares in its preamble that 'animated by the desire to serve the interests of *humanity* and the ever-increasing requirements of *civilization*', and 'thinking it important, with this object, to revise the laws and general customs of war, either with the view of defining them more precisely, or of laying down certain limits for the purpose of *moderating their severity* as far as possible', the Conference 'has in this spirit adopted a great number of provisions, the object of which is to define and govern the usages of war on land.' The Conference, however, recognized that 'it has not been possible to agree forthwith on provisions embracing all the circumstances which occur in practice', and declares that 'cases not provided for should not, for want of a written provision, be left to the arbitrary judgment of the military Commanders'. And it declares further that 'in cases not included in the regulations adopted by it, *populations and belligerents remain under the protection and empire of the principles of international law, as they result from the usages established between civilized nations, from the laws of humanity, and the requirements of the public conscience.*'

Now, certainly, neither international law, nor the usages of civilized nations, nor the laws of humanity, nor the requirements of the public conscience justify these horrible proceedings, and Germany by its ratification of the Final Act of the Conference of 1899 bound itself in the conduct of war on land to be governed by these lofty and noble standards.

I trust that your meeting will be a great success, and will follow by other meetings throughout the land in the same spirit, so as to guide the President, as he requests, in the further conduct of this awful business. For as Lord Bryce very justly says 'nothing could be more shocking than this wholesale carrying away of men from Belgium into virtual slavery.' They are being deported in hundreds of thousands, in order to compel them to engage in work for the benefit of the German army and against their own country, and the method of doing it is as barbarous and brutal as the purpose of it.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

The Rt. Rev. William T. Manning."

(Great applause.)

From Bishop O'Gorman

"SIOUX FALLS, S. D., Dec. 13, 1916.

To THOMAS F. RYAN, New York:

I am glad of the opportunity to join with my fellow citizens in protest against deportation of Belgian civilians, a measure inhuman, unchristian, contrary to civilized warfare.

(Signed) BISHOP THOMAS O'GORMAN."

From Archbishop Ireland

"ST. PAUL, MINN., Dec. 14, 1916.

To THOMAS F. RYAN, N. Y.:

The meeting in New York in protest of deportation of Belgians receives a cordial and sympathetic re-echo from Americans elsewhere on the Continent. The meeting speaks in the name of primary duties, of justice, and humanity. Those to whom that protest is addressed will not, I believe, turn a deaf ear to your entreaties, and will, on calmer thought, desist from the dreadful rigors into which for the moment, war passion has led them. The peace-abiding civilized population of the country have an inviolable right to live on their own soil. Forced labor on that of their foes finds nowhere justification. Cardinal Mercier tells the details of Belgian deportation.

The truth of his statements cannot be doubted. The facts as told by him challenge contradiction. They affright the hearer. No explanation, no excuse, diminishes the awful cruelty implied in them. For its own sake, for the sake of the honorable record it covets in the history of the nations, Germany will, as we hope, quickly reverse its present position, and leave Belgians to live and suffer on their own Belgian soil.

(Signed) Archbishop Ireland."

From Samuel Harden Church

"Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 15, 1916.

To the Hon. James M. Beck,
Belgian Meeting, Carnegie Hall, N. Y.

The whole world joins in your protest against the continued outrages in Belgium. Germany today stands gloating over the ruined countries of her peaceful neighbors, holding the dripping sword of murder in her hand, while all around her lie human forms, dead, dying, maimed, broken-hearted, and the distant roads chocked with thousands of creatures whom she has deported into slavery. Like a medieval barbarian she calls this unprovoked desolation a proud victory; let us have no peace until she is forced to pay the bill in full.

(Signed) Samuel Harden Church.
President of Carnegie Institute."

The Chairman: I now have the great pleasure of introducing one who is preeminently qualified to speak to us upon this matter, who is as well known abroad as he is in our own land, for his fearless, able, and conclusive presentation of the facts relating to this war, and whose books, "The Evidence in the Case", and "The War and Humanity", ought to be read by every intelligent man and woman,—the Honorable James M. Beck! (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE HON. JAMES M. BECK

We are met tonight to protest in the sacred cause of justice and humanity against the most damnable infamy of modern times. (Applause.) If the people of the United States did not thus protest, the very "stones of the streets would cry out against us". (Applause.) We represent citizens of all parties, creeds and classes. Whatever our differences of opinion may be or may have been in other matters, we are a unit tonight in pledging to our Government our support in any attempt which it may make to end the slow murder of a great, a noble and an innocent people.

We protest against it as citizens of the United States, because our country has always been in the past a noble interpreter of the best ideals of humanity and a steadfast champion of the weak and the oppressed.

We protest as citizens of the large commonwealth of civilization, whose system of international law, the inestimable heritage of the ages, has been mocked and nullified by the cruel war, waged by the Prussian conquerors of Belgium against the non-combatants of that stricken land. (Applause.)

We protest as children of a common God against the wicked and wanton wrongs that the ruthless invader has inflicted upon our brethren, the brave people of Belgium. (Applause.)

In so doing we are not playing the rôle of officious intermeddlers in a quarrel that is not our own. These violations of international law offend humanity, affront civilization and vitally concern the whole human family. They constitute a flagrant negation of all that civilization has accomplished in mitigating the horrors of war.

We remember that when our own country, at a time when it was fighting for its very life, committed a comparatively trivial violation of international law in forcibly taking the Com-

missioners of the Confederate States from the British steamer, the *Trent,* Prussia, while recognizing that only England was "immediately concerned in the matter", took the broad and righteous stand that it too had a direct interest in the vindication of the "rights of the neutral flag". If our act then concerned Prussia, Prussia's act now concerns us. (Great applause.)

If I do not misinterpret the sentiment of the American people, then it believes that any peace, that would leave the rights of Belgium without vindication and their wrongs without reparation would be infinitely more mischievous than a continuation of the war. "Reparation", do I say? Can the dead be restored to life? Can happiness ever be restored to those who have been plunged into unending misery? Can historic temples be restored, or the priceless treasures of antiquity be returned? Vengeance there may be, reparation there can never be. Before peace shall come, Belgium, innocent and shamefully oppressed, must not only be restored but its just cause vindicated, if the reign of law is ever to be restored to a distracted civilization. (Great applause.) We may well recall the solemn words of Abraham Lincoln, in a similar crisis:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" (Applause.)

Prussia's crime against Belgium is deepened by circumstances of treachery and fraud which are beyond explanation or condonation. Between Belgium and Germany at the outbreak of the war there was no quarrel or even suggested grievance. Outwardly Germany was Belgium's friend to the very moment that its mighty armies crossed the Belgian frontiers. Not only had Prussia solemnly guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium by the treaty of 1839, but its Chancellor had given

to Belgium in 1870, and again in 1911 and again in the early part of 1914, the most solemn assurances that in the event of a war between Germany and France, the territory of Belgium would be respected. Even when the clouds of the present war rapidly gathered in that last fateful week of July, 1914, the German Minister at Brussels again assured the Belgian Foreign Minister that these repeated and most solemn assurances would not be broken, and this assurance was repeated on August the second, 1914, the very day that Germany made its unprovoked and most treacherous assault.

Had Belgium been willing to sacrifice its honor, it could not only have saved itself from infinite suffering, but it could have pleaded the common extenuation that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and that a nation, whose military strength compared with that of Germany was as that of a child to a giant, was not obliged to attempt the impossible. David bravely faced Goliath and the ultimate result will yet be the same.

Belgium never hesitated for a minute. Her Government immediately replied to the oppressive and cruel demand in these noble words:

"The Belgian Government would by accepting the propositions which are notified to her sacrifice the honor of the nation while at the same time betraying her duties toward Europe. Conscious of the part Belgium has played for more than eighty years in the civilization of the world, she refuses to believe that her independence can be preserved only at the expense of the violation of her neutrality. If this hope were disappointed, the Belgian Government has firmly resolved to repulse by every means in her power any attack upon her rights."

There have been few, if any, nobler replies in all the annals of statecraft. It had borne its faculties so meek, had been so clear in its great office, that its virtues will plead, like angels, trumpet tongued, against the deep damnation of its taking off. In this unmerited fate no country except Belgium can wholly save itself from some reproach, for the whole world should have sprung to its defense against a wanton outrage. Belgium

owed no higher duty to sacrifice itself for the welfare of civilization than civilization owed to it the duty of protection.

Belgium did not sacrifice itself solely because of its high regard for its solemn obligations of neutrality, but because it loved its own soil, its own freedom and its own inalienable rights. The spirit that animated the defense of Liege was that which inspired the heroic Greeks who defended the pass at Thermopylæ against overwhelming numbers and the embattled farmers of New England who defended the bridge at Concord. Let us in this dark hour take heart by remembering that as Thermopylæ preceded the final triumph at Platæa, and as the equally unsuccessful defense at Lexington preceded the surrender at Yorktown, so Belgium's Platæa and Yorktown will come in God's good time. (Great applause.)

In the meantime Belgium has lost neither its soul nor its honor. Through unending ages, men of all nations will honor its young king, that Bayard *sans peur et sans reproche.* For the honor of his country and the welfare of mankind he put at the hazard his crown, his throne, his life. Crownless or crowned, throneless or enthroned, Albert of Belgium, will be a hero until the last syllable of recorded time. There are crowns not made by hand or of gold. The admiration and affection of the world fashions them. Such King Albert will always wear. Such the Kaiser, who stabbed him, while professing friendship, will never wear, even if his iron rule shall extend from Berlin to Bagdad. (Great applause.)

I need not speak of the details of the invasion. The soul of any humane man revolts at their recital and the mind sickens at their contemplation. The sack of Rome under Charles V. and the siege of Magdeburg under Tilly—two of the blackest chapters in history—involved the pillage only of a city. In the full noonday of the Twentieth Century the world was to witness to its lasting horror the pillage of a nation. (Applause.)

Towns, villages and cities were laid in ruins, noble temples of religion and learning destroyed, and countless thousands of Belgian non-combatants, including old and young and women and children, priests and laymen, pitilessly murdered. Before

the work of this "Bloody Council" had ended, 6,000 Belgian non-combatants had been slaughtered. When in any civilized country was there in modern times such a slaughter of the innocents?

If I were asked to name the three most courageous men in this great crisis of human history, I would name without hesitation Karl Liebknecht of Germany, King Albert of Belgium and Cardinal Mercier. (Great applause.) Let me read the testimony of that noble prelate and heroic Prince of the Church.

In his Christmas pastoral letter of 1914, addressed to a people who would have known the truth or falsity of his statements, Cardinal Mercier said:

"We can neither number our dead nor compute the measure of our ruins. * * * Families hitherto living at ease are now in bitter want. All commerce is at an end. All careers ruined. Industry at a standstill. Thousands upon thousands of workmen without employment. Working women, shop girls unemployed, servant girls without the means of earning their bread, and poor souls forlorn in the bed of sickness and fever crying, 'Oh, Lord, how long, how long.'"

Let us assume, without conceding, that Germany, having committed the crime of treacherously invading a friendly country, was yet compelled by military necessity to subjugate an infuriated people to its will by sternly repressive measures, yet when such work of subjugation was complete and nearly all of Belgium was in the conqueror's hands, the obligations of international law and peculiar considerations of generosity and magnanimity required that Germany should not merely care for the people it had abused, ruined and impoverished, but should mitigate the evil consequences of her wanton attack so far as possible. In his speech before the Reichstag the German Chancellor, now asking peace in the name of humanity—God save the mark!—promised the entire world that the "wrong", which he freely admitted his country was doing to Belgium would be made "good as soon as our military goal has been reached"? Distrustful of the promise, more than a

million Belgians had fled as penniless refugees to neighboring countries, and the German authorities, when enforced peace in Belgium was measurably restored, invited them to return upon the express promise, given by Baron von der Goltz, the Military Governor, to Cardinal Mercier, that their liberties would be respected and that they would not be obliged to work against their will, much less to serve against their country.

A deeper obligation of the highest honor rested upon Germany. Under international law, she was obliged to support the people whom she had, to serve her own ends, cruelly impoverished. To her lasting shame Germany refused to fulfill an obligation resting upon the broadest considerations of humanity and peculiarly incumbent upon her in view of the acknowledged wrong that she had done Belgium in her treacherous atack and the solemn promises of reparation that she had made. She promised bread, she gave a stone. In an incredibly short time, she cut off Belgium from the world and ruined her by the wholesale spoliation of her resources.

Germany then invited, not only her enemies, but the neutral world, and especially the United States, to come to the relief of a people whom she had reduced to destitution. While recognizing that every dollar contributed for this purpose was an indirect contribution to German resources in relieving her of a manifest obligation, yet France and England, constrained by gratitude and pity, contributed more than $200,000,000 to relieve the impoverished population. The United States, by private contributions contributed approximately $10,000,000, and no one in this country who gave to this cause, from the penny of the child to the larger gifts of the well-to-do, ever questioned that Germany would not either directly or indirectly deprive the Belgian people of these voluntary gifts.

Instead of respecting this sacred obligation, Germany perpetrated a wicked and stupendous fraud upon the entire world. While the rest of the world, belligerents and neutrals, were sending a stream of gifts for the relief of the Belgian people, Germany, in violation of every principle of international law and every dictate of humanity was stripping the Belgian people of

its resources. It did not take the food, clothing and money contributed by the charity of the world, but it did take by force and fraud the possessions of the Belgian people, and the very means by which they lived and worked. No crime could be more ignoble than this action of Germany. The charity of the world has kept the Belgium people alive, but it has not saved them from destitution. Universal poverty is now their portion, for of a population of seven millions, three millions daily wait in the bread line for sufficient food to keep alive.

This has been done in pursuance of a deliberate system. Twelve years before the invasion of Belgium, the General Staff of the Germany Army in contravention of all the principles of international law, instructed its Generals, to quote its exact words, that

> "a war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy State and the positions they occupy, but it will and must in like manner seek to destroy *the total intellectual and material resources* of the latter. The argument of war permits every belligerent State to have recourse to all means which enable it to attain the object of the war."

The same war manual provides that it is the duty of German Commanders "ruthlessly to employ the necessary means of defense and intimidation". And again, that a commanding officer neglects his duty unless he resorts to "the ruthless employment of such severity". "Ruthless" is their own word. These Prussian martinets seem to glory in it.

Pursuing this policy, the conqueror proceeded systematically to despoil Belgium, while inviting not only its enemies but the entire neutral world to contribute to the support of a people, whom it was deliberately robbing of its means of sustenance. It surrounded Belgium with a barbed wire fence, charged with electricity. It forbade travel, or communication by the mails. It took the raw materials from the warehouses, the specie from the Banks, the securities from individuals, the copper coinage from the hands of the people, the machinery from many factories, horses, cattle and implements from the farms, mineral

products from the mines, products of iron, copper or steel, and transported them to Germany for the use of their own people. It is estimated that this "booty", another favorite term of the Prussian General Staff and savoring of the Middle Ages, amounted to $500,000,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation of our own country reports that in the zone of war every house in some of the villages was pillaged, and where it was impossible to carry away the furniture it was ruthlessly broken into pieces.

It may be conceded that all was not taken, but enough was to reduce one of the wealthiest and thriftiest peoples of the world to almost universal destitution. Even the goods of the merchant, the manufacturer and the farmer, which for some reason were left to the Belgians, were put under German control and could only be sold by sufferance and permission and at prices fixed by them.

As if this were not enough, the financial resources of the country were then drained. Requisitions were made in money amounting to $200,000,000, and these continue at the rate of $8,000,000 per month. To these formal requisitions were added oppressive fines upon municipalities for offenses, often trivial, which drained people of the last of their pecuniary resources.

No words can tell the suffering of a proud people, who had never asked any one for charity. Many would doubtless have preferred death, for it was once well said that "you take my life when you do take the means whereby I live".

The Conqueror, having thus, to use its own words, destroyed the "intellectual and material resources" of its victims, then proceeded to appropriate their labor by reducing them to a state of labor slavery. The German authorities obtained a list of the unemployed, and reserved to itself the right of allotting work to the unemployed. It provided by the ordinance of May 2, 1916, that if any person carried out any work by means of the unemployed, without the consent of the German Military Government, he would be punished with three years imprisonment and a fine of 25,000 francs.

By a subsequent order of May 13, 1916, the military authorities in the various districts were directed to remove by force the unemployed to places where they were required by their

German oppressors to work. This was the beginning of the slave raids, now in progress to the horror of the world.

Is there in modern history anything approaching to this catalogue of horrors? The chief justification has been the fact that the Belgian people in the first few weeks of the invasion fought in contravention of international law. That is precisely what the minute men of Lexington and Concord did when from behind the stone walls of New England farms they poured hot shot upon the British grenadiers returning from Concord to Boston Town, but I never heard, even in the last part of the Eighteenth Century, when international morality was not that of the Twentieth Century, that General Gage in revenge burned hundreds of villages and towns of New England, destroyed public edifices, deprived the people of their resources, shot or deported the leading men and reduced the rest to slavery. It is also said that these steps are necessary, because of the idleness and poverty of the unhappy people, but who caused the idleness and poverty, if not the army of occupation? This excuse reminds me of the fable of the wolf, who devoured the lamb for muddying the stream, although as the lamb vainly pointed out, it was standing further down the stream.

At the beginning of the present year, when the work of spoliation and terrorism had been completed and peace of the Warsaw variety reigned in Belgium, it was thought that Prussia's cup of infamy was full to the very brim, and that nothing could it to damnation add greater than that. The system of enforced slavery began under peculiarly malignant circumstances last Easter, when hundreds of women and young girls in Belgium and northern France were ruthlessly and suddenly torn from their homes and shipped to detention camps, where they were obliged to work in the harvest fields under Prussian bayonets.

As a distinguished American, who actually beheld in the occupied territory some of the details of this new form of white slavery, told me, a husband would leave his home to earn bread for his wife and children, and on returning in the evening he would find that his wife and daughters had been taken in his absence and transported to some unknown destination and

equally unknown fate. It is said, and is probably true, that the victims of this slave raid last Easter were returned to their homes after the harvest had been gathered; but it further aggravates the blackness of the offense against chivalry and justice, that even the product of this enforced toil, as my informant told me, did not at first go to the relief of the Belgian people themselves, but was transported to Germany. The brave protest of our American Commission—the lasting honor shall be the portion of that heroic American Herbert Hoover,—finally succeeded in regaining for the work of the Commission a part of the harvest which the women slaves of Belgium had reaped by their enforced labors.

The culminating chapter of this black volume of human oppression has now been reached, for while the seizure and enforced labor of French and Belgian women was atrocious, because of their sex, yet at least they were permitted to work in their own country. Now, however, the Prussian slave raiders pass from village to village and town to town, ruthlessly apprehending men of all classes, ticket them like slaves, herd them like cattle in cattle cars and transport them into Germany, in order to help Germany indirectly to fight its enemies, and thus in part keep their own country under subjugation.

Was ever slavery more malignantly cruel than this? Already 100,000 have been thus deported.

Let me again cite the evidence of that noble priest of God, Cardinal Mercier, who in his protest of November 7, 1916, says:

"Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform enforced labor.

"At the time of our protests (of October 19) the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; to-day every able-bodied man is carried off, assembled in freight cars and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague reports had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournau, Ghent and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between October 24 and November 2, it occurred

in the regions of Mons, Quievrain, Saint Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days it occurred in the Arrondissment of Nivelles."

Cardinal Mercier quotes in his statement the official notices of the German military authorities, which show that in a given community every male person over 17 years of age was obliged to present himself at a certain place at eight o'clock, with small hand baggage, under penalty that if he failed to do so, he would be subjected to heavy fine and long imprisonment. He adds that between the announcement and the deportation only an interval of twenty-four hours was permitted.

Time does not permit further comment and indeed no comment could do justice to the enormity of this offense against a brave and free people, whom Germany at first treacherously attacked, then impoverished and is now at least temporarily enslaving. For this culminating atrocity, there can be no atonement until the Hohenzollern dynasty is driven from its throne of power into the darkness of exile. There can be no lasting peace in the world until there is the Republic of Germany. (Applause.)

The question is not what Germany is doing, but what the rest of the world proposes to do and above all, what the United States, as the greatest of the neutral powers, proposes to do.

We went to war against Spain for an offense which, by comparison, was trivial, namely, the gathering of the non-combatants of Cuba in the concentration camps, to facilitate the operations of the Spanish Army in putting down the Cuban Rebellion. Our great Civil War was fought to abolish slavery and we did not regard the 400,000 lives which perished in this titanic conflict as wasted to bring about that result.

If America has any mission, it is to defend liberty against tyranny. Onr nation has protested against the violation of international law involved in the killing of women and children and other non-combatants upon the high seas. Shall it or can it be deaf to the infinitely greater evil of the virtual enslavement of a whole people? (Cries "No". "No".)

It is in the power of the United States, without recourse to arms, to bring this system of oppression to an end. All that

is necessary is for the President of the United States to instruct our representative in Berlin to notify the German Government that unless it gives a prompt assurance that the forcible deportation of Belgians to Germany shall immediately cease, the German Ambassador will be given his passports. (Tremendous applause.)

Germany cannot, dare not, quarrel with this country in this crisis of its fortunes. It believes in its inner councils that it will need this country to save it from the wrath to come. Let us hope that the people of America will by their outspoken indignation here and elsewhere give to the President of the United States the fullest assurance—if indeed any assurance is necessary—that if he will act and act speedily to defend the Belgian people from further wrong, he will have the support of the American people without respect to parties, creeds or classes. (Great applause.)

Liberty enlightening the world is a noble symbol. In peaceful times it is enough that Liberty should with the torch of truth in her uplifted hand illumine the dark corners of the earth but in this crisis of civilization, possibly the gravest in modern times, let Liberty not merely give its light to illumine the darkness, but let it stretch forth its hand to save the helpless. Let it at least extend to the people of Belgium the hand of succor and sustenance. The time may come when England and France cannot longer contribute millions to the relief of the starving Belgians. Let this be the work of the United States. Why should not our Government, with the consent of the belligerents, loan to Belgium, to be administered through the American Commission, a sufficient fund to feed the people of Belgium until the end of the war? We are rich and prosperous. Why should not the United States make Belgium its ward and by direct governmental action save the remnant of that brave people in the conquered territory from starvation? Such a course would have this quality of mercy, in that it would "bless him that gives and him that takes."

That uplifted hand of Liberty should, however, do more than succor the Belgians in their proud poverty. It should defend them in their rights. At one strong insistent word from Amer-

ica, the shackles of slavery will fall from their bent forms. (Great applause.)

Can we, dare we, delay the word of help and defense? Belgium has been nailed to the cross for the welfare of civilization. Let us not wait until she cries, "It is finished".

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side.
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight
Parts the goats upon the left hand, the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong,
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng,
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong.

"Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
One death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word.
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

(Great applause.)

BELGIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

The audience arose and remained standing while the band played the "Brabançonne".

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is one who, as a Judge of the highest Court of this State, and as the chosen leader of one of the great political parties has long held high place in the community and in the country; one to whom his fellow citizens have learned to look, and who is here tonight to speak his strong word against these deeds which are a shame to civilization, and a humiliation to the world. Judge Alton B. Parker! (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF EX-JUDGE ALTON B. PARKER

We are here to make our protest against the latest phase in the war upon Belgium. We come not as partisans, favoring the one side or another in the great war, but in behalf of helpless humanity, outraged anew by a return to methods abandoned hundreds of years ago and not revived even in the most savage of the late contests in which men have been engaged. We come to discuss as coolly as the circumstances themselves will permit, the facts as they face us in the most pathetic case known to mankind or history.

For two thousand years Belgium, in spite of her attractiveness as a place of battle, grew slowly but surely into one of the fairest spots on the earth's surface. Inhabited originally by one of the most vigorous of primitive peoples, their country, small as it has always been, became one of the centres of industry, religion, art and a culture that made itself felt in the remotest part of the world. As conditions changed, so important was this small country deemed by the greater nations, that its integrity was guaranteed by all those around it. But when a great struggle arose it was overrun without act or procurement of its own, whether innocent or overt, its people subjected to the ordinary horrors of war, without even the smallest possibility on their part of public or private interest or individual or general profit. They were subjected to every hardship and to the most exacting humiliations. Their lives were sacrificed with unsparing ruthlessness. Their industries were destroyed or turned against them. Their property was seized with a mediæval thoroughness and a more than mediæval severity, and their homes, merely because they defended them, became a universal battlefield. In a word, their country so full of everything that could attract or benefit humanity, was turned from peaceful pursuits, from a prosperity that gave it the aspect of a beehive, and made into a shamble, in which their men, women and children were the victims. To these must now be added the systematic carrying away into

distant slavery of many thousands of workmen—none but the best is wanted—without any serious pretense that it is done for any other purpose than the benefit of their enemies. No official announcement is made of the number of unfortunates, of how long they will be kept in bondage, or whether they will ever be freed, or not. Some admiration must be confessed for the fact that no apologies are made. There is no claim that the policy is not opposed to the promises made or that the laws of nations have not been violated. Nothing is said in justification except to assert the law of necessity and its logic, "the will to power, and the determination to put them both into effect without regard to right or convention, and apparently without regard to the protests of either belligerents or neutrals."

This creates a situation different in all respects from any that has hitherto appeared. It gives the protest of the people of the United States a new standing,—a standing already recognized by our President, who in obedience to the manifest wish of the people as well as to the dictates of his own heart, and mind, has lodged with the German Chancellor a protest in a friendly spirit, but most solemnly, against the deportation of Belgians because "In contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations * * *." That protest we endorse from beginning to end, and further than that we propose to stand by the President in his effort to secure the release from bondage of the deported Belgians.

Not only have our people in their government or corporate capacity, by signing the Hague Conventions, participated in the guarantees of Belgian independence and neutrality, but they have also signified in no uncertain way from the very beginning of the war, their sympathy with the small but proud people, in the indignities that have been heaped upon them. Indeed, the partiality of any large proportion of our people in this war is due in no small measure to their sympathy with Belgium in her sad plight. This sympathy is not based upon interest, or politics, or desire for power, or upon either a willingness or an unwillingness to be drawn into the maelstrom of European complications, but upon the sufferings of a deeply wronged people; and so the protests which we make here tonight repre-

sent the known and easily ascertained sentiment of the people of this country. It echoes the universal protest against injustice and tyranny; it turns, as we have done from the earliest days of our history, to the warning of distress to the small and the helpless. It cries to Heaven against injustice and cruelty and insists that, even in war, the interests of humanity and religion shall not be overlooked or entirely forgotten.

This is all the more imperative because both as a nation and a people we are strong. Because our people are devoted to peace, because they have done everything in their power to preserve and promote it, because they hope that they may do even more to insure it in the future, are reasons strong as Holy Writ why we should make our protest as loud and impassioned as we may against the return, in the present conflict, to forms of cruelty and oppression long in abeyance. If methods and conditions hateful to everything that justice, christianity and civilization hold dear, are now permitted to rule unquestioned, and to become again the commonplaces of war, it is difficult to foresee a time when the advance thus lost can be regained. If war is to be waged, here and now, with the purpose of making human slavery again a part of it, whenever power, or necessity, or brutality, may dictate, it will not make much difference, in the future of the world, whether provisions are made for the preservation or restoration of peace, as proposed or not.

We do not hope to stop this war, but unless we protest with both passion and effect against its abuses, its disregard of law and of the humanities it will be both impossible to prevent the next one, or hinder it from degenerating into a barbarity which will throw mankind back into the period of Carthage. We do therefore enter our protests against this enormity, this new slavery, not alone because it is abhorrent to us, but also to the end that all may know that we are in earnest sympathy with the position taken by our government in respect to this matter. We insist that neither under the pretext of necessity nor in the assertion of brute force, shall patriotism be rewarded with enslavement nor the innocent punished by methods no more to be re-established or excused, or thought of in time of war than in days of peace. We have

joined the whole world in abolishing the slavery of men because they were black and now join the whole world in protest against the return to this condition of white men, long after it has been abandoned for all men. We venture to hope that this protest may become nation-wide; that the voice of America and Americans may find expression in no doubtful way; that for the honor of humanity the uninvited woes of the Belgian people may arouse universal interest and a practical sympathy not less wide. It is the one urgent world question of the day. The advance or the defeat of armies is far less vital, has far less influence upon the future of the world, than this one problem. It affects directly one of the smallest countries of the world; indirectly it comes home with crushing force to every man and woman everywhere who either thinks or feels. (Applause.) God grant that their voices may be so lifted up that they shall be both heard and heeded.

As I think of Liege and Antwerp and see before me Edith Cavell, as I learn of the latest—but as I well know, not last—brutal decree of a tyrannous Conqueror, I tremble for my country lest it be lulled to selfish indifference in the face of these great wrongs.

Bear ever in mind that though in the end evil do not prevail, yet its prevailing in part at any time is generally due to lack of heed from those, who like ourselves, should not only keep a vigilant outlook, but also "keep our powder dry." (Great applause.)

The Chairman: It is my privilege now to present to you one who holds a unique place in the esteem and admiration of his fellow countrymen. There is no man to whom the American people look with more confidence for wise counsel, high vision and fearless statement of the truth, there is no man better entitled to speak for Belgian freedom and for American honor than Elihu Root. (Great applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE HON. ELIHU ROOT

Mr. President, Fellow Americans: I am glad to join my voice tonight with my fellows in this free land in condemnation and protest upon this new outrage that is visited upon poor and bleeding Belgium.

I could not remain silent. I should not respect myself if I remained silent, and I hope, I trust, I pray, that my country will not remain silent.

Explain it as you may, excuse it as you may, disguise it as you may, the people of Belgium by the tens and hundreds of thousands are being carried away into slavery,—a thing that has not been done by any nation that claimed to be civilized in modern history.

Poor Belgium, peaceful, industrious, God-fearing, lawabiding Belgium, she had no quarrel with anyone; she sought no nation's territory; she coveted no neighbor's goods; she threatened no one's security, but she stood in the way of a mightier nation's purpose,—and she was stricken to the earth! Her firm, her stern and noble resolve to keep the faith was her only crime, and she has been punished as if her people were the vilest on earth. Her towns have been burned, her noble and stately monuments have been leveled to the earth; her women and children and old men have been murdered; her country has been brought under the sway of a foreign invader, and she has been bled white by vast exactions of money and of produce. Every effort to revive her industries has been denied, and now, because she has suffered thus, her men are to be carried away to forced labor as slaves.

If the civilized world of the twentieth century is willing to stand silent and see these things done, in cumulative progression, in violation of the laws of humanity and of nations, then the civilization of the twentieth century is worse than the savagery of Roman times.

It seems that there is no place for the independence of small, weak States, for security in self-government by peaceable and unarmed peoples, or for individual freedom, or for private right, in that scheme of things under which "liberty for national evolution" is to justify all uses of power.

But, what we have to do is not merely to gratify our own feelings by expressing them regarding this treatment of the Belgians. What we have to do is not merely to protest in the name of Humanity,—it is to assert a right, it is to call upon the world to assert a right, a right under the law of nations for the protection of humanity and of civilization. This is our concern. This deportation of the Belgians to involuntary servitude is a violation of our law, of the law we helped to make, of the law which in common with all civilized nations we have built up generation after generation, and it has been embodied in definite and certain and solemn instruments of agreement, as to what humanity demands, signed by Belgium, signed by Germany, and binding today. I see that General von Bissing justifies the deportation of Belgian workmen and refers to the Hague Convention as to the basis for his action, quoting the provision that it is the duty of a belligerent power, in possession of conquered territory, to preserve order. The deportation, he says, was to preserve order in Belgium. Let me read the whole of the provision to which he refers.

"The authority of the legitimate power, having actually passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all steps in his power to re-establish and insure as far as possible public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country."

The most solemn of the laws of Belgium, protecting the rights of her people, were violated in contravention of that very provision by the man who appeals to it for his justification.

What I read was from Article 43 of the 1899 Convention. The Convention proceeds:

"Family honors and rights, individual lives, and private property, as well as religious convictions, and liberty, must be respected."

The convention further proceeds: "Until a more complete code of the laws of war is issued, the high contracting parties have the right to declare that in cases not included in the regulations adopted by them, populations and belligerents remain under the protection and empire of the principles of international law as they result from the usages established between

civilized nations, the laws of humanity, and the requirements of public conscience."

That convention was signed and ratified by every Power that is now engaged in the European War, as well as by ourselves. There was a subsequent convention that was signed by nearly all, which contained a provision that as to those that did not sign, the convention from which I read continued in force. The subsequent convention contained precisely indentical provisions, so that Germany is bound in conscience and in law by the existing treaty between her and us, between her and Belgium, declaring what the principles of humanity require in the treatment of occupied territory. Those principles of humanity have been violated in accordance with the very statement of them upon which she and we have agreed.

Now, I say this law is our law; it is our protection. The rights of man, peace and humanity, cannot be preserved upon impulse alone. Law governing men in the treatment of the weak and defenceless is necessary; and so for years, for centuries, the nations have been building up a code of law, international law, and that law is the protection—the enforcement of that law, respect for that law, obedience to that law, are the protection of our peaceable people, of all weak and small nations, of all those that do not wish to be armed to the teeth every moment for their own protection.

We have a right to have it observed, and it is our duty to our children and to our country that we shall not remain silent in the face of open, flagrant, contemptuous disregard and violation of it.

How can it be preserved? Not merely by armies and navies. No. There is but one power on earth that can preserve the law for the protection of the poor, the weak and the humble; there is but one power on earth that can preserve the law for the maintenance of civilization and humanity, and that is the power, the mighty power, of the public opinion of mankind!

Without it, your leagues to enforce peace, your societies for a world's court, your peace conventions, your peace endowments, are all powerless, because no force moves in this world unless it ultimately has public opinion behind it.

The thing that men fear more than they do the sheriff or the

policeman or the State's prison is the condemnation of the community in which they live.

The thing that among nations is the most potent force is the universal condemnation of mankind. And even during this terrible struggle we have seen the nations appealing from day to day, appealing by speech and by pen and by press for favorable judgment from mankind, the public opinion of the world. That opinion establishes standards of conduct. In Roman times, the standard of conduct permitted the carrying off of slaves to the mines; permitted the impaling of prisoners; permitted the sacking of towns. At the time of the Thirty Years' War, outrages almost as bad as those which have been perpetrated in Belgium were in accord with the practice and acquiescence of the world, but we thought that we had been building up new standards of conduct, that the world had grown more compassionate, and more kindly, and it had. The public opinion of the world was establishing, had established, a more humane and Christian standard of conduct, both in peace and in war. That standard is now beaten down, it is destroyed, it is set at naught. And if we remain silent, if the great neutral peoples of the world remain silent, the standard is gone forever.

And, mark this, the new standard, or rather, the return to the old standard of barbarism will not stop with the poor people of Belgium. It will be here! Not perhaps for you and me, but for our children it will be here.

How can we maintain the standard of civilization? Not by silence regarding international wrong. If the world of well meaning and kindly and good people remain silent when hideous wrong is done, what difference is there to the wrongdoer between right and wrong? In order that the public opinion of the world should be worth anything, it must condemn wrong.

And that is what we are called upon to do now. I have thought it should be done before, but now there can be no doubt. I say that the mightiest power that man knows, is ready to be awakened and brought to bear for the prevention of such crimes in the future, provided we and others like us are true to our duty and speak out in condemnation of horrid crimes. America cannot choose at will. We have made professions, we have assumed an attitude, we have taken upon

ourselves responsibility, we have declared ourselves the champions of freedom. Ah! Remember across the half century, the words of Lincoln: "Four score and seven years ago our Fathers brought forth upon this Continent a new nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." They came here across the stormy seas in their little boats and braved the rigors of winter and the perils of savage foes that they might be free. Some of us remember how they gave their lives that the blacks might be free. It was the spirit of freedom that took the pioneers across the mountains and the plains and the rivers, and gave this vast continent to the reign of law and justice and peace. We have cherished ideals, we have had dreams, we have had ideals of a world made better and happier and nobler because America was a free democracy. We cannot remain silent now while these poor Belgians, without fault, are carried into slavery, without abjuring our past, and being false to our country.

"Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side,
Let Freedom ring!

Our Father's God to Thee,
Author of Liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright,
With Freedom's holy light."

One cannot be an American, with the history of America, without responsibility, and that responsibility confronts the people of our country today to protect the spirit of American freedom. We have grown rich beyond the dreams of avarice. So prosperous, so many millions of automobiles, such palaces, such comforts, such luxury! Intellect has been trained, education broadcast over the land, peace preserved! Ah! Are we so sunk in comfort and luxury and self-satisfaction, that we have lost the old spirit of American freedom?

If we have not, we shall not dare remain silent over this latest wrong to Belgium.

Let me read the effective words of that great-hearted and noble Prelate, whose figure, appealing to all that is best in

humanity throughout the world, fearless of the mighty power that seeks to constrain him, will make the name of Cardinal Mercier great in history. Let me read from his pathetic appeal: "We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity. May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally round our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery."

Thank Heaven our President has assumed the leadership of the free opinion of the American democracy, and has spoken for it to Germany. All honor to him for it, and it is for us to say, as I for my part say, that we, will stand by him, support him, approve him in maintaining the application of the free principles of America in insisting upon respect and obedience to the law which protects all weak and peaceable nations, and in protesting, with all the power of the hundred millions of America against the outrage upon humanity which has been done.

We may not be, in the words of Cardinal Mercier, "masters of speech and pen", but we are masters of our souls, and we are part of the great self-governing people of America, and we can speak, and we can speak so clear and high that the world will hear it, and that all right-minded and compassionate men and women will follow it and will join with us until the voice of the public opinion of the world will satisfy the most hardhearted tyrant of them all that wrongs such as these are punished by the universal condemnation of mankind.

THE RESOLUTIONS

The Chairman: You are asked now to adopt a set of resolutions. They are offered by the one who has insisted on keeping in the background, but who himself proposed and deserves all the credit for bringing about this great expression of public

opinion, which we hope may echo far and near, Mr. Whitridge. The resolutions will be read to you by the head of one of our great universities, who has not hesitated to stand out for the ideas expressed here tonight, and for the principles of true Americanism—President Hibben of Princeton University! (Applause.)

President John Grier Hibben: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am here tonight not merely in my own personal capacity, but representing 150 Members of the Princeton faculty, who, three weeks ago, signed a petition, sent to the President of the United States, protesting against the German outrages in Belgium in carrying away these poor, miserable sufferers into slavery.

In presenting our Princeton petition here and there, I was met by only one person who hesitated to sign it, and he gave as his reason that he wished to preserve the spirit of "neutrality", and I said in reply, "There can never be neutrality between right and wrong." (Applause.)

And it was in that spirit that the 150 members of the Princeton faculty sent their protest to the President of the United States. (Applause.)

The resolutions were drawn by Mr. Whitridge, and are as follows:

"Whereas the world has been appalled by the reports from Belgium of the deportation into bondage of thousands of the non-combatant population; and

"Whereas these reports are uncontradicted and the depopulation appears to be a deliberate breach of the promises made by the German authorities to induce the Belgians to return to their own country; and

"Whereas we learn from the highest authority that the reports in the press of the cruelties perpetrated are not overdrawn, but are really understated; and

"Whereas although the German authorities say that the deficiency of work in Belgium is due to the laziness and ill-will of the Belgians, it is known that hundreds of thousands of tons of provisions, machinery and supplies of all kinds have

been removed to Germany, to say nothing of the millions of dollars taken away by fines and indemnities from these poor people, who, robbed of all their resources, are now being driven off in hordes under the pretense that they are ungovernable and will not work;

"Therefore, be it

"RESOLVED: That we American citizens assembled in public meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, express our abhorrence of these fresh outrages and violations of the laws of war, the law of nations and the instincts of common humanity, deliberately perpetrated by the German Government, and that we extend our sympathy to the unfortunate people thus made the victims of the calculated cruelty of the conquerors of an innocent nation.

"RESOLVED: That we request the Government of the United States to protest with all its force and earnestness against these outrages; to emphasize the detestation with which the American people regard these abuses; and to request the German Government in the name of all neutrals, to cease its policy of expatriation and slavery; and we pledge our utmost support to the Administration in whatever way it may conclude to act.

"RESOLVED: That copies of these resolutions be sent to all the representatives of the German Government who can be reached in this country." (Great applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I will now put the resolution and ask you to vote upon it, expressing your vote in favor of it in the usual manner, and with the understanding that there is especial emphasis on the word "act".

(Applause and cries of "Act, act!")

AMERICA

We will now join, before we leave, in singing "America", and I ask you to sing it with the prayer in your hearts that this meeting may have started a fire in this land which shall not be extinguished until American honor is vindicated, and until justice is done in Belgium. (Great applause.)

The audience arose and joined in singing "America", accompanied by the band.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

Lyman Abbott
Frederick H. Allen
Edmund L. Baylies
Robert Bacon
Otto Bannard
James M. Beck
S. R. Bertron
Cornelius N. Bliss
John M. Bowers
Robert Bridges
Bishop C. H. Burch
George W. Burleigh
Nicholas Murray Butler
William Allen Butler
Benjamin T. Cable
Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman
Robert W. Chambers
Joseph H. Choate
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Henry Holt
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John M. Parker
William Barclay Parsons
General Horace Porter
George Haven Putnam
Douglas Robinson
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Elihu Root
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William Jay Schieffelin
Charles Scribner
Rev. Dr. C. L. Slattery
Francis Lynde Stetson
Henry L. Stimson
Lewis A. Stimson
Rev. Dr. E. M. Stires
Frederick Strauss
Willard Straight
Henry W. Taft
Cornelius Vanderbilt
F. A. Vanderlip
George T. Wilson
Judge Galbraith Ward
F. W. Whitridge
George W. Wickersham

Joseph Bucklin Bishop,
Acting Secretary

LETTER TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with the resolutions, the following letter, with enclosures, was sent to each of the persons named below:

NEW YORK, December 18, 1916.

SIR:

At a mass meeting held in this City on Friday evening, December 15th, in pursuance of the enclosed advertisement, resolutions were adopted, a copy of which I have the honor, in accordance with the terms thereof, to send you herewith.

Yours very truly,

JOSEPH BUCKLIN BISHOP,
Acting Secretary.

COUNT J. H. VON BERNSTORFF,	Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Imperial German Embassy,	Washington, D. C.
ROBERT DUMONT,	German Consul,	Mobile, Ala.
FRANZ BOPP,	Consul General,	San Francisco, Cal.
P. W. WEIDNER,	German Consul,	Los Angeles, Cal.
KURT ZIEGLER,	"	Denver, Colo.
GERHARD ROLFS,	"	Pensacola, Fla.
WILHELM MUELLER,	"	Atlanta, Ga.
ERNST EICHHORN,	"	Savannah, Ga.
ALFRED GEISSLER,	Consul General,	Chicago, Ill.
PAUL ROH,	German Consul,	New Orleans, La.
CARL A. LUDERITZ,	"	Baltimore, Md.
OSWALD KUNHARDT,	"	Boston, Mass.
JOHANNES GRUNOW,	"	St. Paul, Minn.
WILHELM BREITLING,	"	St. Louis, Mo.
ERICH HOSSENFELDER,	"	Wilmington, N. C.
JOHANN GIESCHER,	"	" "
OSCAR MEZGER,	"	Cincinnati, Ohio
FRITZ KIRCHHOFF,	"	Portland, Oregon
GEORGE STOBBE,	"	Philadelphia, Pa.
ARTHUR MUDRA,	"	" "
EMIL JAHNZ,	"	Charleston, S. C.
HENRY J. RUNGL,	"	Galveston, Texas
EMIL CARL VIETOR,	"	Richmond, Va.
ERICH ZOEPFFEL,	"	Seattle, Wash.
OTTO RICHTER,	German Vice-Consul,	Tacoma, Wash.
PAUL FALCKE,	German Consul General,	New York, N. Y.
KARL KRAMER,	German Vice-Consul,	Port Arthur, Texas
L. M. VON SCHILLING,	"	Newport News, Va.
HERR DUDDENHAUSEN,	"	Port Richmond, Wash.

CARDINAL MERCIER'S APPEAL

MALINES, Nov. 7, 1916.

Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform forced labor.

As early as Oct. 19 we sent to the Governor General a protest, a copy of which was handed to the representatives of the Holy See, of Spain, the United States, and Holland, in Brussels, but the Governor General replied to it that nothing could be done.

At the time of our protestation the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; today every ablebodied man is carried off, pellmell, assembled in freight cars, and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague rumors had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournau, Ghent, and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between Oct. 24 and Nov. 2 it occurred in the region of Mons, Quievrain, Saint Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days it occurred in the Arrondissment of Nivelles. Here is a specimen of the announcement concerning the proceedings:

"By order of the Kreischef every male person over 17 years old shall present himself, Place Saint Paul, in Nivelles, on Nov. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock, (Belgian time,) 9 o'clock, (Central time,) bringing with him his identification card and eventually his card from the Meldeamt.

"Only small hand baggage is permitted.

"Those not presenting themselves will be forcibly deported into Germany, and will besides be liable to a heavy fine and to long imprisonment.

"Ecclesiastics, physicians, lawyers and teachers are exempt from this order.

"The Mayors will be held responsible for the proper execution of this order, which must be brought immediately to the knowledge of the inhabitants."

Between the announcement and the deportation there is an interval of only twenty-four hours.

Under pretext of public works to be performed on Belgian soil, the occupying power had attempted to obtain from the communities the lists of workingmen out of work. Most of the communities proudly refused.

Three decrees from the General Government prepared the way for the execution which is in force today.

Under date of Aug. 15, 1915, a first decree imposed, under penalty of imprisonment and fine, forced work on the idle, but adds that the work is to be executed in Belgium, and that non-compliance will be adjudged by Belgian tribunals.

A second decree, dated May 2, 1916, reserves the right of the German authorities to supply work to the idle, and threatens a fine of three years' imprisonment and 20,000 marks imposable on anybody executing or ordering to be executed work not approved of by the General Government.

Under the same decree, the right to judge infractions which had remained with the Belgian tribunals passes from the Belgian to the German tribunals.

A third decree, dated May 13, 1916, "authorizes the Governors, the military commanders, and the chiefs of arrondissments to order that the unemployed be conducted by force to the places where they must work." This was already forcible working, although in Belgium.

Now it is no longer a question of forcible working in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

To give an appearance of plausibility to these violent measures, the occupying power insisted in the German press, both in Germany and Belgium, on these two pretexts: the unemployed constitute a danger to public order and a burden on official benevolence.

To this we replied in a letter addressed to the Governor General and to the head of the Political Department on Oct. 16, as follows:

"You are well aware that public order is in no wise threatened and that all influences, moral and civil, would support you spontaneously were it in danger. The unemployed are not a burden on official benevolence; it is not from your funds that they receive assistance."

In his reply the Governor General no longer urges these two first considerations, but he alleges that "doles to the unemployed, from whatever source they may come at present, must finally be a charge upon our finances, and that it is the duty of a good administrator to lighten such charges"; he adds that "prolonged unemployment would cause our workmen to lose their technical proficiency, and that in the time of peace to come they would be useless to industry."

True, there were other ways in which our finances might have been protected. We might have been spared those war levies which have now reached the sum of one billion francs, and are still mounting up at the rate of forty millions a month; we might have been spared those requisitions in kind, which amount to several thousands of millions, and are exhausting us.

There are other ways of providing for the maintenance of professional skill among our workpeople such as leaving to Belgian industry its machinery and accessories, its raw materials, and its manufactured goods, which have passed from Belgium into Germany. And it is neither to the quarries nor to the lime kilns to which the Germans themselves declare they will send our unemployed, that our specialists will go to complete their professional education.

The naked truth is that every deported workman is another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made into a soldier. Thus the situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be reduced to these terms: Four hundred thousand workmen have been thrown out of work by no fault of their own, and largely on account of the régime of the occupation. Sons, husbands, and fathers of families, they bear their unhappy lot without murmuring, respectful of public order; national solidarity provides their most pressing wants; by dint of unselfish thrift and self-denial they escape extreme destitution, and they await with dignity and in a mutual affection which our national sorrows have intensified, the end of our common ordeal.

Groups of soldiers introduced themselves forcibly in the homes of these people, tearing the young people out of the arms of their parents, the husband from his wife, the father from his

children; at the point of the bayonet they block the entrances to the homes, preventing wives and mothers from rushing out to say a last farewell to them; they align the captives in groups of forty or fifty and push them forcibly into freight cars; the locomotive is under pressure, and as soon as a trainload is ready, an officer gives the signal and they depart. Thus another thousand Belgians reduced to slavery, without previous trial, condemned to the penalty which comes next in cruelty to the death penalty—deportation. They don't know how long their exile is going to last, neither do they know where they are going. All they know is that their work will benefit the enemy. Several of them have been brought to sign—by coercion or by threats— an engagement which they dare to call "voluntary".

While they certainly take the unemployed, they also take a large number—in the proportion of one-quarter for the Arrondissement of Mons—of men who were never out of work and belonging to diversified professions—butchers, bakers, tailors, brewery workers, electricians, farmers; they even take the youngest men, college and university students, or young men from other high schools.

This in spite of the fact that two high authorities of the German Empire had formally guaranteed the liberty of our compatriots.

The day after the capitulation of Antwerp the frightened populace asked itself what would become of the Belgians of military age or those which would arrive at that age before the end of the siege. Baron von Huene, Military Governor of Antwerp, authorized me to reassure in his name the frightened parents. However, as rumors were running that in Antwerp, Liége, Namur, and Charleroi young men had been seized and forcibly carried off to Germany, I asked Governor von Huene to confirm to me in writing the verbal guarantees which he had given me. He replied that the rumors pertaining to deportations were without foundation, and he gave me without hesitancy the written declaration which was read on Sunday, October 1, 1914, in all the parochial churches of the Arrondissement of Antwerp: "Young men need have no fear of being carried off to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forcible employment."

Immediately after the arrival of Baron von der Goltz in the capacity of Governor General at Brussels, I went to ask him to ratify the guarantees given by Governor von Huene to the Province of Antwerp, extending them to the whole country, without any time limit. The Governor General retained my petition in order to consider it at his leisure. The following day he was good enough to come in person to Malines to express his approval and, in the presence of two aides de camp and of my private secretary, to confirm the promise that the liberty of the Belgian citizens would be respected.

In my letter of October 16 last to Baron von Bissing, after reminding him of the undertaking given by his predecessor, I concluded: "Your Excellency will understand how painful the burden of responsibility I should have incurred toward families would be if the confidence they placed in you through me and at my earnest entreaty should be so lamentably disappointed."

The Governor General replied: "The employment of the Belgian unemployed in Germany, which has only been initiated after two years of war, differs essentially from the captivity of men fit for military service. Moreover, the measure is not related to the conduct of the war, properly speaking, but it is determined by social and economic causes."

As if the word of an honest man was terminable at the end of a year or two! As if the declaration confirmed in 1914 did not explicitly exclude both military operations and forced labor! As if, in fine every Belgian workman who takes the place of a German workman did not enable the latter to fill a gap in the German Army!

We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity.

When Cardinal Lavigerie embarked on his anti-slavery campaign, Pope Leo XIII., as he blessed his mission, remarked: "Opinion is more than ever the queen of the world. It is on

this you must work. You will only conquer by means of opinion."

May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally around our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery.

May human conscience triumph over all sophisms and remain steadfastly faithful to the great precept of St. Ambrose: Honor above everything! *Nihil praeferendum honestati!*

In the name of the Belgian Bishops.

(Signed) D. J. Cardinal Mercier,
Archbishop of Malines.

ADDRESS BY THE CARDINAL IN BRUSSELS, Nov. 26.

The four or five weeks that I have just passed have been perhaps the most painful of my life, the most anguishing of my episcopal career. The fathers and mothers who are pressing about this pulpit will understand me.

I have seen hundreds of my flock in peril and in tears. During three days, on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday last, from morn to eve, I went about the regions whence the foremost workmen and artisans of my diocese were taken by force into exile. At Wavrecourt, St. Etienne, Nivelles, Tubize, and Braine l'Alleud I entered more than a hundred half empty homes. Husbands were absent, children were orphans, sisters, sad-eyed, and with inert arms, sat beside their sewing machines. A gloomy silence reigned in these cottages. It was as though there were a corpse in the house. But hardly had I addressed a word of sympathy to the mother when there was an outburst of sobs and lamentations, of angry tones, with movements of magnificent pride.

The memory of these heartbreaking scenes never leaves me. I would like to hurry to Antwerp, Tirlemont, Dieste—wherever they are repeated, wherever there is sorrow to assuage, tears to dry, hearts to console. But I cannot. Eager to do it though I am, I have neither the strength nor the time. Therefore, dear brethren, I thought I would come to you, in the centre of my diocese and of our country.

I say to you, my brethren, without hate or a spirit of reprisal, that I should be unworthy of this episcopal ring which the Church placed upon my finger, and of this cross which she placed upon my breast if, obeying a human passion, I hesitated to proclaim that law violated remains none the less law and that injustice based on force is none the less injustice.

But peace is only possible in order, and order reposes on justice and charity. We want order, and it is for this reason that from the very first day I asked that no active resistance be opposed to the power of occupation and that regulations which did not violate our Christian conscience or our patriotic dignity be submitted to without revolt.

However, the occupying power ought also to desire order; that is, to say, respect of our rights and of our engagements. Man in a civilized country has a right to freedom of his labor. He has a right to his home. He has a right to reserve his services for his fatherland.

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